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LABOR EDUCATION IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS

*With Special Reference to the Work of the
AMERICAN LABOR EDUCATION SERVICE*

ISSUE EDITORS—*Eleanor G. Coit; Orlie A. H. Pell*

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P R E F A C E

"The things which bother me most seem to involve my relations with other people."—P. W. Bridgman in "The Intelligent Individual and Society."

These words which appear above were written by one of the world's great scientists, a Nobel Prize winner in physics. Why should relations with other people have become the central problem of our age and time? And, more importantly still, perhaps, why should the relations between various groupings of human beings — national, racial, religious, *et cetera* — have become so acute a problem at this particular moment of history?

In this brief preface I shall confine my response to these queries to a single explanation which seems to me to constitute a realistic approach to this disturbing situation. We have more difficulty "getting on" with each other and between groups because all behavior tends to lose its automatic controls. In the pre-industrial world friendships arose automatically among persons who worked together, among persons who lived near each other. This is no longer to be taken for granted. Indeed, modern apartment-house dwellers in large cities make a point of avoiding the people who live near them. And, jaded urban people move to country homes for escape and once there scrupulously avoid taking part in the life of their neighbors.

If we are to have friends in the kind of world which has come into being since the industrial revolution, it will become necessary to seek them out in a conscious manner. But this becomes increasingly true of all human affairs. One of the principal meanings of a scientific-technological civil-

ization is the gradual disappearance of automatic arrangements. When we have disturbed the natural environment through the use of science and technology, the net consequence is a lessening effect of automatic controls.

Science, technology and industrialization impose upon us the necessity of learning new ways of living and not the least important of these new ways of living has to do with our inter-personal and inter-group relations. If we are to improve these relations we shall need to include preparation for this purpose in our on-going education.

I am especially pleased to note that persons involved in workers' education have become alert to this responsibility. The American Labor Education Service is to be particularly commended for having done something more than merely talk about group relations. As the reader will soon discover, this organization, in cooperation with labor groups, has actually conducted experiments designed to strengthen the contributions made by trade unions in fields of inter-group relations and is now prepared to furnish a report of these experiments. There is much to be learned before we shall be capable of introducing human relations effectively into our adult education. This is, however, a variety of learning which cannot be safely avoided by those who have faith in the democratic ideal.

Democracy rests upon a tripod of three classical values, ideal values, namely Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Of these three the last, Fraternity, is the symbol of the issue we have been here discussing. Without Fraternity, Liberty would soon become a hollow and external form of insulation. Without Fraternity, Equality would degenerate into a lifeless mediocrity. It is only when both Liberty and Equality rest upon the solid base of Fraternity, of good human relations, that Democracy becomes a vibrant and lovable enterprise.

EDUARD C. LINDEMAN

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Board of Directors of the
American Labor Education Service.

LABOR EDUCATION AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

It is not surprising that organized labor, based as it is on a fundamental belief in the value and the inherent rights of all persons, has been a force for democracy throughout its history. Today it is more and more taking its rightful place in the local community and in the national as well as the international scene, and has become increasingly active in the field of intergroup relations. This means that labor must find ways to equip its members to carry new responsibilities in these areas, and this becomes the responsibility of union education programs.

The American Labor Education Service as a national advisory agency in labor education, has been actively cooperating with unions in this task. For a period of twenty-five years ALES has done what might be considered spearheading significant developments in workers' education, for example in developing appropriate study materials for adult workers, in establishing resident workers' schools, in research and experimentation in educational method and in conducting pilot projects such as those for combating discrimination through union education. In all its work it has been turning its attention more and more to intergroup problems. Its method is to work closely with unions on the day-to-day problems and concerns of union members, such as job security, rising costs of living, etc., linking to these, the wider problems of intergroup relationships. Since it believes that real learning takes place only when a person analyzes and understands his own experiences, ALES cooperates with groups and individuals within unions to study and explore ways of working on the problems they face, utilizing existing channels such as union committees and normal union activities, in the process of reaching out to problems of broader scope.

There are four general fields within which ALES' program of intergroup education has been taking place—de-

veloping international understanding, integrating minority groups within the whole, building mutual understanding among farmers and workers, and aiding white collar workers to find their place within the labor movement.

The following articles will illustrate several phases of this work, with emphasis on the educational techniques found most fruitful.

ELEANOR G. COIT

Director, American Labor Education Service.

ORIE A. H. PELL

Education and Research Associate, ALES.

DEVELOPING INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

The labor movement during the last few years has been carrying greater and greater responsibilities in the international field. It has set up its own International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and both AFL and CIO have their own representatives in Europe and in Asia. American labor leaders are holding many responsible posts as labor attachés to American embassies and within the administration of the Marshall Plan, as well as consultative posts in such agencies as UNESCO.

As national labor leaders take on international commitments, it is of course increasingly important that local labor leaders and rank-and-file union members develop their understanding of international affairs. The American Labor Education Service therefore, as a national workers education agency that reflects the needs and interests of the labor movement, is giving increased emphasis to educational programs that will relate to the significance of labor in the world scene and to an understanding of today's complex international issues.

The program of ALES in the international field includes a wide variety of projects and techniques. One of its important functions is in cooperating with other groups in

furthering the exchange of worker-students between this and other countries, and to this end it has established a Special Committee on the International Exchange of Worker-Students. ALES cooperates in the recruiting and selecting of workers for Ruskin and Fulbright scholarships and has cooperated with the American-Scandinavian Foundation in their program for sending workers abroad. It has assumed full or partial responsibility for planning and carrying through the itineraries of Swedish, Danish, German, Austrian, Japanese and other representatives of labor education from abroad. It has studied and worked on standards for educational program and policy for trade unionists visiting the United States, and, at the request of government agencies concerned with exchange of workers, has conducted seminars for labor youth and for government labor officials from abroad.

ALES is giving equal emphasis to other means of developing international understanding on the part of workers in the United States. One method is that of the educational conference, where the participants may broaden their own understanding and take back information and inspiration to the labor bodies from which they come. Plans are under way for the development of local workers education demonstration centers to cooperate with labor groups, and perhaps also liberal farm groups, in deepening their understanding of international affairs through the use of discussion groups, film discussions, pamphlets, forums, and through working with shop stewards, developing community-wide programs, etc. In addition, leadership training in international affairs may be carried on through resident institutes.

The following articles deal with two of the approaches to international education that ALES has found fruitful.

THE SOCIAL MEANING OF THE EXCHANGE OF WORKER-STUDENTS

Harold Taylor

Scholars have always travelled widely, to meet each other, to confer and work with those who have special knowledge, to pool ideas. Students have travelled almost as widely, to learn from particular scholars in particular institutions. In this country we now have elaborate programs to make academic study possible for foreign students here and for our students abroad.

But workers have seldom travelled, except to leave depression areas and bad social conditions in order to look for new jobs and new opportunities. The social meaning of their travel has been expressed in terms of the impact of immigration by foreign national groups on the economic, political and cultural life of the United States. Similar effects have occurred from the impact of labor migrations within this country, the most spectacular being that of the Okies in the 1930's. The effects were educational, but not in the usual sense of that word.

In 1952, we have reached a crucial point in the political and cultural history of the United States, a point at which it has become absolutely necessary to invent new ways of dealing with educational, political, and cultural problems. I am referring of course to the thrust of world affairs in forcing us to assume leadership, and need not elaborate on the significance or scope of the necessities of leadership. But some elaboration is essential on the question of labor's role in the present situation. As everyone knows, there is social power of the first magnitude in the labor movement, to be used in domestic policy-making and, potentially at least, in international affairs.

Yet this power has not yet sufficiently developed its own social intelligence for use in social planning which goes beyond the immediate problems of the worker in this coun-

try. There are many reasons, one of which is the fact that trade unionism as a social force in the United States has had a short history. There is a justifiable suspicion on the part of organized labor that a college education for a member of the trade union movement means that the member will leave the movement and work either in labor relations or in the personnel and management side of industry. There is also the general difficulty of developing programs of workers' education which go beyond the local problems of hours, wages and working conditions.

Yet at this stage of labor's history in the United States, there are demands placed upon representatives of the labor movement which cannot be met without intensive and prolonged educational programs. The demands are for labor attachés in United States embassies around the world; for labor lawyers who have their roots in the labor movement and who understand the social implications of labor leadership; for local union leaders whose knowledge of contemporary society goes beyond the local problems; for labor representatives on school boards where they can take part in the formulation of community educational policies; for labor representation in all phases of community work, from community chest drives to housing projects; for local leadership drawn from the rank and file to bring some understanding and knowledge of international labor problems to each community.

There is also one general demand made upon the country by the present international situation. That is the demand that there be a direct relationship between the workers of other countries and the workers of the United States.

How are we to meet these demands? I believe we can meet them only by concentrating attention on the education of those individuals who are already part of the labor movement. At the moment, the American system of higher education is geared to produce students who will go into industry, business, finance, and the professions, without much

interest in the problems of labor.

The present system of the exchange of students deals with the exchange of ideas between one general type of person and another, that is, the person who intends to become a teacher in school or college, or who intends to spend a year abroad as part of a general education which will enhance his total development as a college graduate. Those who go abroad and those who come to this country are not workers, and only infrequently are they members of trade unions. The social meaning of this kind of exchange has to do with the cultural effects of mingling ideas, facts, and values of one country with another. This does, in the long run, create a mode of international understanding, but at a level which does not directly or immediately affect political or social decisions and trends.

This is not true of students from the Far East who come to this country or who go to the Soviet Union or elsewhere for their educational purposes. In this case they are preparing themselves for positions of social and political leadership in the countries to which they return. Many of them are persons with roots in the workers and peasant movements of their countries, persons who will put the knowledge and training they obtain in the United States directly to work for the welfare of their own people.

We are therefore thrown back upon the task of dealing with the present constituency of the American labor movement, selecting those individuals within that constituency whose talents for further education are clear and unequivocal, and providing an education fitted to contemporary social needs. One of the most important ways of doing this is by a program of international exchange of workers. The emphasis here is upon the *exchange*, not merely upon the provision of opportunities for American workers to go abroad to study foreign conditions and labor activities.

Those of us who are working in the colleges have observed at first hand the educational and social effects of the

presence of foreign students in the American student body. For every individual foreign student who comes to an American college, dozens of American students receive in some measure an education in international points of view. To know a foreign student, to hear his comments and comparisons, to understand his country's problems by listening to him talk, to understand our own problems by explaining them to the foreign visitors, these are all significant educational contributions which this country can ill afford to lose, especially in the field of international labor.

These educational and social effects are even more important for the labor movement itself. Direct attack on the problem of workers' education in international affairs by scheduling classes, institutes, workshops, forums, and distributing pamphlets has had at most a very limited success. But whenever foreign workers have come to local unions, visited community organizations, discussed problems of their trades and their union organization, visited American families, the educational effects have been quite significant. Similarly, whenever American workers have gone abroad for conferences or study, they have not only gained a kind of knowledge which is unavailable except by travel, but have helped to communicate a point of view about the American labor movement and American society which has been of general benefit to individuals and groups in the foreign country.

We have now had sufficient experience with visiting workers, through the State Department and ECA programs, to know what constitutes a good educational experience for the workers who come, and what are the values in the program. We still do not know very much about the actual use to which the knowledge and experience gained by these trips has been put when the workers return to their own countries. There has not yet been time to evaluate the social effects both on this country and on the others.

We can however report in a limited way on the value and use of foreign study by American worker-students, since

we have a group of twenty-one students, drawn from the American labor movement, who have had one year of study at Ruskin College, Oxford, and we know from reports on their present activities what use is being made of the year's experience.

In a report by an American worker in another institution in Britain evidence can be seen of the mutual effect of this kind of exchange. The worker-student writes: "There are approximately forty-five students attending the college, most of whom are members of British Trade Unions. There are also two students from Denmark, one from Yugoslavia, two from Western Germany, two from Austria, one from Africa. The majority of the students are outspoken members of the Labour Party. There are also two Communist students here. Most discussions are political and tend to focus on the methods of democratic socialism vs. the methods of Communism. I find that I have read more of the works of Marx and Lenin than the two Communists have and am able to point out their inconsistencies. As a matter of fact, they know very little Marx and Lenin and the only justification they have for Communism is that Russia is all right and the U. S. is all wrong."

We now have sufficient evidence of the value of the worker-students program to be able to assess its social implications and to assert the necessity for its extensions into wider areas.

These social implications I would assess as follows:

(1) The program of worker exchange contributes a social reward, and makes an addition to the social dignity, of membership in the labor movement. This in turn helps to break down the social stereotype of an executive or professional class considered as a separate order in human nature. It also helps in the amalgamation of such social groups as the white collar worker, the teacher, the industrial worker, and the trade union leadership into a more general grouping with a common social purpose.

(2) The program, if expanded sufficiently, will counteract another social stereotype — that of the educated man as a college graduate. Formal or academic education has merits of considerable proportion, both for the individual's personal development and for social use. But it is only one aspect of a total educational structure which is as large as society itself. To come at the educational problem from the other side, that is, from the point of view of the individual whose personal and social development can best occur through such institutions as the labor movement rather than through an institution of formal education, is a new and significant experiment in education itself.

(3) The increased social mobility which this different conception of the role of the worker implies, will in the long run lead towards a greater variety of vocational choice within a wider area of social opportunity than has previously been open to the American worker.

(4) The need for representatives of the labor movement in advisory capacities for government agencies, both in foreign countries and in the United States, will continue to increase and to become more urgent. The exchange program is a specific instrument for developing a group of labor representatives whose foreign experience will contribute to greater maturity of attitude and an increase in knowledge of the setting in which contemporary labor problems occur.

(5) Although the program is only one of a variety of other educational means for increasing the social intelligence by which the United States may approach its national and international problems, it is of the first rank in importance. It can give to the labor movement, and through it, to the political life of the country, a point of view and a social impetus which will help to make national decisions in the light of workers' interests. In doing so, it will help everyone else along with the workers.

Harold Taylor is President, Sarah Lawrence College, and Chairman, ALES Committee on International Exchange of Worker-Students.

* * * * *

SOME LEARNINGS FROM EXPERIENCE

(We have asked Mark Starr, Vice-chairman, U.S. Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange, for permission to use from one of his manuscripts, the following paragraphs, which express vividly some of the learnings that have come from his wide experience in working with exchange visitors in this country and abroad.)

The movies used to claim: "See more, know more." That was never strictly true for Hollywood movies unless it was to know more about what ain't so. It might be well to change the slogan to "See less and understand more." Many of our visiting delegations have been rushed around the continental United States on what amounted to a Cook's rubbernecker tour.... They received a superficial impression of the strange things that go on here. Some of them go back with cockeyed views about this country. We herd them into hotels when they should singly visit our homes. They have listened to endless lectures about the U. S. A. and collected tons of documents. Unfortunately, a crammed notebook and a bursting valise do not make an ambassador of mutual good will and understanding.

If we assert that to meet more people is not necessarily to make more friends, that does not mean that face-to-face contact is not the best, most fundamental way of breaking down stereotypes and prejudice among various nationalities. But do not forget, friendship does not naturally follow. Face-to-face contact also means that the other guy can more easily spit in your eye.

.... There is lots of evidence that face-to-face contact does not necessarily bring understanding. Some of our guests (and names are available) have left with a chip on the shoulder and a phobia against the United States and all that it stands for. Do not take it for granted that bringing a foreigner here will put him on our side. You may be giving him a more cutting edge to his bias against things American. The visitor always takes along himself and his

prejudices on his travels—luggage which the customs officers can never examine.

We ought to be more careful to put our exchange on a functional basis: transport worker to meet transport worker, coal digger to meet coal digger and needle pusher to meet needle pusher. In other words, we should have a much better selection and more preparation and much more follow-up in educational exchange than we have had so far.

It is good that exchange has gotten off the exclusively academic and professional level. The current move to bring a large number of young workers for study-work programs with actual experience in industry and community life is very welcome. Professors and students can be most easily shifted but, despite difficulties, other people are equally worthy of consideration in international exchange.

... We must think more of the short-term mass exchange of men and women who cannot be spared for years at a time but who can be spared for three or four months. They can come under the "leader" projects which are now being rapidly developed. They will not write a Ph.D thesis on their visit. They are, however, the heads of community organizations, of management, labor and civic groups, who will go back and live what they have learned in the United States if we succeed in sharing with them the basic ideals of our respective countries.

But such short-term visits from activists will need, in my opinion, a change in our attitude about languages. May I cite a typical and recent experience? Six Japanese women trade union leaders were in New York. Some of these women have families. They are the heads of union departments and they are fighting the difficult battle for trade unions and for women's rights in Japan. One is an electrician. The others include a textile worker, a steel worker, a department store sales clerk, a journalist and broadcaster. They each have special interests and purposes. But we had to tour them as a gang. Because active workers have no opportunity to

acquire languages, they could only speak through the interpreter. Here was a bottleneck. We had to pour all the information through one translator. We are lucky when the interpreter understands the jargon of the American trade unions. What good is face-to-face contact, if the curse of Babel robs us of direct fellowship and exchange of ideas?

...Turning to another aspect of international exchange based on personal experience, I think we are making a tremendous mistake in not letting the other fellow talk. Too often, we wear the ears off people who are just burning to tell us something about their own way of life. Too often, with unconscious egotism, we act thus because we assume that our way of doing things is the best. We must not be surprised if they do not share in our self admiration.... We laugh at Walter Bagehot's comment on Adam Smith that "He saw the whole progress of history as the promotion of the human race to the rank of Scotsmen." But our amusement does not prevent our imitation of the conceit.

...Just now we might well recall Kipling's admonition to "Keep your head when all about you are losing theirs and blaming it on you." We have to keep our heads at the present time, and in our Point Four and exchange activities, remember also the Kipling reference to helping and "yet not look too good or talk too wise."

...Our foreign visitors will make for themselves, in the face of our frankness about our failings, the distinction between exceptional deviations from our high ideals and the steady and general progress toward their attainment. They too will recall the parallels in their own country in their concepts of the Golden Rule and the Rights of Man.

We are learning, in this business of educational exchange, the value of humility. The humility that characterizes the true scholar and the scientist is also becoming to the person who wants to be effective in this great new exchange movement when peoples speak to peoples?

Mark Starr is Educational Director, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, AFL, and Vice-chairman, Board of Directors, American Labor Education Service.

EXPLORING LABOR EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Francis A. Henson

I do not know of any director of workers' education who is happy about the success he has had in educating his local leadership—not to mention the rank and file membership—in the field of international problems. I have no proof of the assertion, but I have declared frequently in conferences held recently that local union officers are much less concerned about and informed on world affairs than are the leaders of Rotary Clubs, local units of the League of Women Voters and most Women's Clubs. This is my own experience.

Our organizers and local officers are still organizing the unorganized. There is a constant pressure from many difficult managements—where we are organized. Our leaders are not as politically minded as I wish they were; but when they do show political militancy, it is usually in a campaign for a mayor or a state legislator. It is true that the presidential and congressional races deal with foreign as well as domestic issues, but labor is primarily concerned about where Taft, Truman, and Eisenhower stand on inflation and the Taft-Hartley Act. Few question what they think about strengthening the United Nations, or whether they are for or against reciprocal trade.

Because this problem must have been faced by many other Workers' Educators, as well as by myself, there was considerable enthusiasm when the American Labor Education Service agreed to sponsor a Midwest Conference in April, 1951 devoted to a thorough examination of this question: *How to Make International Affairs "Come Alive" for Local Union Members.*

About 200 delegates from the AFL, CIO and Railroad Brotherhoods gathered in Chicago on the weekend of April 14-15. After the conference, most of the delegates felt that

it was helpful; some were highly critical of its inadequacies. All had a good time together. There has been a limited amount of follow-up—about as much as one would expect on a conference dealing with stewards' problems.

Let's look at the program. In my opening remarks, I declared, "We're not here to state labor's view on the atom bomb, aid to India or other aspects of foreign policy. Our sole objective is to sift through methods and material available on international affairs and pick out what is most suitable to help us make world problems have meaning to union members."

By way of background, Svend Godfredsen, who had just returned from Denmark where he was Labor Officer of the special ECA Mission, spoke on "The Role and Function of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU)." He was followed by Clifton M. Utley, NBC news commentator in Chicago, who discussed the overall world picture from a more general standpoint. With this informational background we divided up into workshops, which constituted the heart of the Conference.

I. Literature, Films and Other Materials Available to Stimulate Interest of Local Union Members in International Affairs

Chairman, Brendan Sexton

In this workshop were described types of organizations putting out material on international questions. It was recognized that much of the material is issued by government groups, and the hope was expressed that this material might be worked over by labor groups or independent community groups, which would mean that the contents was adapted to the needs of these groups. Films are particularly important, and a staff member of the Film Council expressed its desire to work with labor groups in making films available for their use. It was pointed out that the educational needs of labor groups in the international field must be better defined in terms of issues, how the material will be used, and special fields of interest to the groups, if the material is to be fully adapted to trade union use.

II. Implementing the Program of Educational Exchange of Workers

Chairman, Mark Starr

Mr. Starr pointed out that the aim of international relations is to break down the stereotype that foreigners are different and to build up the idea that we are all human beings and that it is of mutual benefit to have two-way traffic of ideas. On the extent of international educational exchange, Mr. Starr pointed out that the government is making possible the international exchange of workers on a broad basis. The workshop group emphasized the following points:

There should be better selection of exchange workers and there should be a more concentrated target in regard to their aims.

There should be a better briefing of visitors on the background of the labor movement and the community. Workers from abroad should have more contacts in the homes of workers and use community agencies as well as union agencies.

There should be more foreign scholarships available at various labor schools.

There should be an organized workers' travel program in the United States as in European countries.

The State Department should be urged to use the American Labor Education Service as a contracting agency.

III. Utilizing Bridges Now Available to Stimulate Interest in International Affairs

Chairman, Hy Fish

This workshop pointed out that:

It would be very helpful in making the visits of foreign trade union groups useful to local unions if there could be more advance planning.

Locals should do a great deal more to assist members of ECA teams and other visitors, but such locals should have a part in the planning.

It is important that there be a two-way learning process, and visitors should be used at local union meetings. It was

suggested that union members be used as translators. It was urged that there be more visits in the homes of union members. It was suggested that there be a follow-up of the exchange program in an exchange of letters, which might be carried in the trade union journals. It was pointed out that DP's could be used to arouse interest in international affairs on the part of local union members.

Local unions should make more use of labor attachés, and it was pointed out that labor attachés from seventeen countries are working in the United States.

More unions should be interested in sending their members abroad.

Unions should encourage labor tours to Europe.

It was suggested that we combine the study of international affairs with regular activities of unions. More speakers could be used, more films, bulletin boards, etc.

It was suggested that we keep in closer touch with national offices and that AFL and CIO international committees might be used more effectively, to help carry out some of the suggestions made here.

In the evening Paul R. Porter, director, European Office, Mutual Security Agency, spoke on ECA activities in Europe in general and on the role of former labor leaders like himself in the State Department, ECA and the United Nations. Labor is taking part in many of the efforts now being made to help people realize that poverty can be overcome, disease wiped out, illiteracy erased, standards of living raised and greater economic opportunity achieved for them and their families.

It has been expected that Elmer Cope, formerly international representative of the CIO, or Toni Sender, consultant for the ICFTU to the United Nations, would be present to stress labor's international role through its own movement. Unfortunately, both were unable to be present and consequently, despite Godfredsen's comprehensive presentation, there was more emphasis than had been intended on governmental activity on all levels. This under-

scored a feeling on the part of some of the delegates that the conference gave too much of the "official Government line."

On Sunday morning there were three workshops on the same subject:

WHERE TO BEGIN WITH OUR LOCAL MEMBERSHIP TO GET THEM MORE INTERESTED IN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND HOW DO WE SET UP A LOCAL PROGRAM FOR THIS PURPOSE?

Among the suggestions made in regard to what had been tried by various local unions and what might be tried were the following:

- Promote plant discussion of international issues
- Use regular union meetings, and meetings of central bodies and councils
- Conduct courses for committee members and officers
- Develop institutes on international questions
- Make better use of exchange trade unionists

Above all it was recognized that educating the membership on international matters is a long-term job and cannot be done quickly. The ultimate goal must be kept in mind.

The closing session brought reports from the various workshops of Saturday and Sunday, and a brilliant summary of the conference by Frank McCulloch, administrative assistant to Senator Paul H. Douglas. Mr. McCulloch dealt with the compelling reasons that make us want to be world citizens, and the importance of working for a balance between the long-range objective, which is so important, and the immediate issues which confront us.

One of the features of the conference was the large number of exhibits and assorted publications from various organizations and government departments specializing in foreign affairs. Another feature was the presence of numer-

ous consultants who were experts on educational features in this field.

Unquestionably, with all of this information available and all of the talent available for private conferences between sessions, many of the delegates correctly appraised the conference as helpful. But the challenge still needs to be met, of helping local union members to understand the importance of international problems through the medium of such a conference. The problem of follow-up is a very difficult one.

Some of those present raised a question as to the advisability of a conference of this type dealing with method compared to a conference dealing with actual issues, where for example, the adequacy of various aspects of our present foreign policy might be questioned. Perhaps there is a need for both types of conference. And perhaps such conferences might well be supplemented by the process of selecting two or three union members who give some evidence of interest in this field, and arranging for them to be active in local meetings of the Foreign Policy Association, committees for U.N. Day, the campaign of the "Crusade for Freedom," the Friends Service Committee, etc. In addition, occasional speeches could be planned before local unions as well as regional and national conventions, in which the significance of international labor is stressed. However, we will be kidding ourselves if we think that such speeches are likely to give any more than a smattering of knowledge or to result in any great conviction.

In the meanwhile, I am grateful to ALES for providing this much of a probing inquiry into the whole matter.

Francis A. Henson is Educational and Political Action Director, United Automobile Workers of America, AFL, and Chairman, ALES Midwest Workers' Education Conference.

STRENGTHENING THE INTEGRATION OF MINORITY GROUPS

The relationship between peoples of different cultures, colors and creeds is one of the crucial problems of today. The labor movement in America has been well aware of this, and it has been the policy of the American Labor Education Service to work closely with unions in their efforts to educate for democratic, non-discriminatory attitudes within their own ranks and within the community.

Within the past five years ALES has sponsored two projects designed specifically to experiment in this field, to demonstrate that discrimination can be attacked through the trade union movement by means of education growing out of day-to-day concerns of union members.

The first of these projects, from 1945 to 1948, was carried on in cooperation with the New Jersey State CIO Industrial Union Council, of which Carl Holderman was president. An ALES staff member worked full time with CIO unions in communities throughout the state of New Jersey. The second project, from 1948 to 1950, was a project carried on within the city of St. Louis. Under the auspices of a local committee, two ALES staff members developed a program in cooperation with a number of unions, AFL, CIO and independent, and a number of community organizations.

The variety of situations to be met required careful analysis of the groups and their communities, and great ingenuity in uncovering the approach and the technique for each case. From these months of grass-roots educational work have come learnings that ALES feels may be of general interest.

THE PROBLEM IS TACKLED AS A UNION PROBLEM

Marie E. Algor

Prejudice is a problem for education, but it is not so much a matter of theory as of deep-seated attitudes, emotions and habits of behavior. The place to begin to work for change would seem to be in the area of actual day-to-day living, where the individual is struggling to meet his own felt needs. In the case of union members this will mean to begin with everyday union activities: with problems of seniority or promotion or the handling of grievances by shop chairmen; with the work of union committees on legislation or housing or political action; with membership meetings, with union-sponsored sports and recreation.

The most effective work in the New Jersey Minorities Project was found to be done through working on problems in which the union members were interested at that particular time. To cite one example, at the time that the resources of the CIO unions in New Jersey were being mobilized towards securing passage of a National Full Employment Bill and increasing unemployment benefits, the emphasis of the program was placed on the aim of "full employment for *all*," and the work culminated in a state-wide conference dealing concretely with the issue, *Full Employment — Our Common Goal*. This of course tended to merge the interests of the minority groups with the interest of the union membership as a whole.

In fact, throughout the entire program, experience reaffirmed the belief that a positive approach rather than a negative approach was most effective. This meant working not so much *against* discrimination as *for* integration — the integration of minority groups into all phases of union life. During the course of the New Jersey project, the Anti-Discrimination Committee of the CIO State Council and the Education Committee decided to work jointly, merging the

anti-discrimination work into the educational work, and the ALES staff member became an auxiliary member of the Education staff of the State CIO.

The two committees worked jointly with local unions throughout the state, cooperating closely with local union education committees, working on such immediate issues as pending legislation and housing, and cooperating with a variety of community agencies. Moreover the two committees, together, carried on an educational program to familiarize themselves as committee members with the resources and agencies in the fields of workers education and community relations, seeking the cooperation of staff members of community agencies such as the Jewish Community Relations Council and the New Jersey Urban League, and securing technical assistance in improving their own skills in utilizing educational techniques.

Throughout the life of the project a wide variety of educational techniques was used, depending upon the particular group, the situation, the type of community, etc. There was work with individual union officers and union committees; shop steward training sessions; two-day conferences; small face-to-face cross-section workshops, either inter-union or union-community. Educational aids were used such as pamphlets, leaflets, films and filmstrips, posters, radio programs and material in union papers; and great use was made educationally of the State CIO Anti-Discrimination Committee Report to the State CIO Convention.

On the community level, cooperation was carried on with community agencies such as the Camden Committee for Full and Fair Employment, the Trenton Committee for Unity, the State Division (and the County Councils) Against Discrimination. There was a great deal of work on legislation, e.g., the FEPC, the National Full Employment Bill, laws against segregation in the schools, for the revision of text-books and for improved teacher-training on minority issues; and above all, work before, during and

after the revision of the New Jersey State Constitution. For the New Jersey CIO took active leadership in framing the civil rights section of the new constitution, and helped in working for the adoption of the constitution and in working to interpret it and to implement the legislation necessary for putting it into practice. A permanent Civil Rights Committee of the CIO Council, set up at this time, is still functioning, and its influence is felt on the state and local level.

There is no one approach or blueprint that can be set forth, but the New Jersey experience does portray that the best initial approach is to align the program with the day-to-day problems and needs of the unions — not a spectacular but a sound approach. This is a job requiring imagination and skill, and a knowledge of what the union problems are. This experience also points up the fact that we sometimes have to seek long to find the person who can or will integrate the union problem and the minority problem. It may be a member of an education committee; it may be a shop steward; happily sometimes it may be an executive board member, a president or an organizer. It must be someone whose sincerity is respected, even though he may not have power or position.

Undoubtedly, a certain skill is needed in deciding at which level in the union to introduce a certain idea or piece of program. Some matters can best be handled by the education committee; others can be introduced in steward training; problems of individuals must be handled by grievance committees; others that include broad policy, such as community cooperation, have to go to the top level of leadership. Happily, once a union member or an official or officer has had even a small measure of success in a piece of program, the dynamics of the situation spur him on. He influences others, the experience of his project brings satisfaction and stimulates a few more, and you find that at different levels in the union and in various committees, indigenous projects spring up.

Undoubtedly the weight of the authority of the officials and executive boards is a powerful factor. Union stewards and members are accustomed to following through on decisions in regard to negotiations, pension programs and legislative matters. In the field of intergroup relations, of course, the union program is harder to enforce but once certain decisions are made and acted upon by officials (and in view of the experience of working side by side, in the shop or in the union committees), many individuals whose prejudices are not too deep-rooted learn to think of all the union members as *members* rather than as Negroes or Jews or Italians. Members of minority groups also come to think of themselves as union members first, and members of minority groups second. It is obvious that this process takes time.

The experience of the New Jersey project portrays well that in the last analysis democracy is a community, state and national problem. A union or a state council must work with the state laws and the community agencies, public and private, if real first-class citizenship is to be achieved. Ground work was done by many individuals in New Jersey and notably by members of the old Governor's Good Will Commission, which laid the foundations for the New Jersey Anti-Discrimination Law. Founders of the CIO were truly grounded in real, democratic trade unionism. Someone has said there is nothing so powerful as an idea whose time has come. The ALES project had a small part, in acting as a catalytic agent, a coordinating and stimulating force, in making ready the power of the CIO unions to unite with the community and public agencies of the State of New Jersey in the final achievement of the bill of rights in the New Jersey State Constitution that was passed during the life of the ALES work with the CIO in the State of New Jersey.

Marie E. Algor is field Representative, American Labor Education Service, and served as Director, ALES New Jersey Minorities Project, 1945-48.

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The second project, carried on for two years in a single city, St. Louis, involved the cooperation of a number of unions, AFL, CIO and independent, and a variety of community organizations. The experiment was characterized by great flexibility and variation in approach, but throughout, emphasis was laid on relating the work closely to the existing structure and activities of the unions themselves—the training of shop stewards, cooperating in the development of effective membership meetings, working with education and recreation committees, etc. The experience in one situation where the Director of the Project worked long and closely with the union officials, and where the Project was instrumental in making it possible for the union to utilize the help of an expert in working on the problem of prejudice within its ranks, may be cited as one example of educational procedure.

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THE UNION MAKES USE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST

Annetta Dieckmann

During the spring of 1949 the staff of the Warehouse and Distribution Workers' Union, Teamsters Local 688, AFL, in St. Louis under the able leadership of Harold J. Gibbons, the Secretary-Treasurer, determined to find out to what extent the non-discriminatory and progressive policies of the Union had been accepted by the members employed in those shops which had been long organized. Then it made a further decision, perhaps unprecedented in labor history, to entrust such a study to an independent social scientist. Executive Board members and stewards had to be convinced that an "outsider" could discover anything unknown to them, but eventually Dr. Arnold Rose then of the Dep't of Sociology and Anthropology of Washington University undertook a survey of Attitudes of Members of Local 688, a survey financed partly by the Union, partly by the Scientific Research Department of the American Jewish Com-

mittee, and partly through the free services of Dr. Rose and some of his students. The study has now been published as a book by the University of Minnesota Press under the title of "Union Solidarity: The Internal Cohesion of a Labor Union."

Three hundred ninety-two persons, scientifically selected so as to represent a cross section, were interviewed with reference to their participation in the Union and their loyalty to it. Their opinions on various Union policies were solicited, including incentive pay, job seniority, the importance of organizing the unorganized, political action, dues and assessments. Union services were evaluated — the Labor Health Institute, legal aid, the credit union, employment service and workers' education. Their attitudes toward minority groups were obtained.

The reports of these interviews were analyzed and certain conclusions drawn by Dr. Rose. Some of these conclusions were at such variance with what the leaders of the Union believed to be the facts as to justify the role of the "outsider" and the scientist in the appraisal. Only a few of the conclusions — relative to the racial attitudes of Union members — will be mentioned here.

Officially this Union is "color blind" — it has no second-class citizens. This policy has the warm support of most officers, committee chairmen, and stewards.

That the *mores* of the community rather than the policies of the Union so largely determine the attitudes of the rank and file membership was a disappointment to these leaders. Some of Dr. Rose's findings were:¹

"Attitudes toward Negroes among white members in a purely social situation are largely negative, in a job situation about evenly divided pro and con, and in a Union situation largely favorable. For example, 83.7 per cent do not think that Negroes should be allowed to live in the same block as whites, 44.2 per cent think it is a bad idea

¹ The following excerpts are from pages 137 to 139.

for the Union to try to get jobs for Negroes where there are vacancies, but only 33.8 per cent think it is a bad idea to have Negroes on the Union staff.

"The majority of Union members are in favor of separate Union social affairs for Negroes, but not such a large proportion as are in favor of social segregation outside the Union situation.

"Over half the members approve the Union's policy with respect to minority groups and over a third more don't know about it. Only 5.3 per cent say that the Union spends too much time on Negroes. (That one third do not know the Union policy on minority groups indicated to Union leaders an unbelievable breakdown in channels of communication.)

"About 12 per cent of the members say they have become friendlier to Negroes since joining the Union, and 5 per cent say they have become friendlier to Jews." (Union leaders expected these percentages to be larger.)

A year earlier Local 688 had established a standing committee whose function was defined by the by-laws as follows:

The Democratic Rights of Members Committee shall safeguard, maintain and further the democratic rights of members in the Greater St. Louis area.

During the first year the Committee had been mainly a stand-by committee. During the second year, however, the Committee was used as the medium for an aggressive campaign of education and action. Some time earlier the educational director of Local #688 had stated an objective in this succinct sentence: "Every member of the Union should know not only what he is doing and how, but also why." The Committee undertook to find out what to do, how to do it and why it needed to be done.

It discovered that the democratic rights of members most frequently infringed within the shops were the right of

Negro members to the use of the same eating facilities as those used by other members and the right to upgrading based upon seniority. Some victories in furthering these rights came easily as the result of publicity and encouragement on the part of trusted leaders of the Union.

The Committee interpreted the phrase "in the Greater St. Louis area," included in its by-laws, to mean that it should "safeguard, maintain and further the democratic rights of members" not only within the Union and the shop, but also in the community. Therefore, it advocated a provision in a new city charter for the right of the Board of Aldermen to pass civil rights legislation. It was interested in the struggle through the St. Louis Council on Human Relations to eliminate discrimination based on race in the use of municipal recreation facilities. Its chairman attended the National Emergency Civil Rights Mobilization in Washington. It secured the adoption at the Union's annual city-wide Shop Conference of a resolution in support of a general civil rights program, national, state and local.

When the Committee considered how to get active support from the rank and file for its program, it decided that the most successful technique for reducing prejudice is personal acquaintance and that such acquaintance was promoted through interracial union committees and through social activities, such as baseball and the Children's Christmas Party.

The Committee supplemented this unconscious indoctrination with direct education. Such education concerned not the evils of prejudice but rather the policies of the Union and the function of the Committee. In so doing, the Committee built upon the insight of Dr. Rose's Survey of Attitudes of Members that attitudes are more egalitarian within the Union situation than elsewhere. So the chairman of the Committee made a point of reporting something concrete to every monthly meeting of the Stewards' Council. Then arrangements were made to explain the work of the

Committee to every shop or combination of shops within the Union. In preparation the Committee set up a workshop to which it invited the best speakers among the Union leaders. Here the speeches were carefully planned so as to include the status of the Committee, a summary of the rights and privileges of members of the Union, the philosophy underlying the non-discriminatory policies of the Union, the channels through which the aid of the Committee should be invoked and the Resolution on Upgrading which the Committee had sponsored through the annual city-wide Shop Conference. A memo embodying these points was published in the Union newspaper.

The Committee explained that the sole reason why it was concerned so largely with race relations was that the rights of members of minority groups are more often infringed than the rights of members of the majority. Its philosophy was stated thus:

The first reason why this Union cannot tolerate discrimination against any of its members is economic, for the Union cannot endure if it is divided within itself. The preamble to the by-laws states, "United we stand and become stronger: divided we fall back into the chasm of insecurity, want, economic and political slavery." But an even broader reason is loyalty to the democratic tradition of America, now the world's greatest bulwark against totalitarianism.

Members of the Committee received leaflets drawn from the vast literature of human relations. Especially helpful was a summary of the Report of the Director of the Detroit Interracial Committee on riots precipitated by the opening of the St. Louis municipal swimming pools to Negroes. Two motion pictures appearing in commercial theaters—*Home of the Brave* and *Intruder in the Dust*—were discussed. Attendance was encouraged at various community meetings, such as a public hearing of the Board of Freeholders with reference to the proposal to authorize the Board of Aldermen to pass civil rights legislation, and a

Lincoln's Birthday Conference called by the Urban League. The report of Dr. Rose's Survey of the Attitudes of Members was studied carefully for clues as to what needed to be done and how.

A small group drawn from the staff of the Union, some committee chairmen and outstanding community leaders met to consider the findings of the Survey of Attitudes of Members and to make some long-range plans on how further to liberalize the attitudes of the members. Such plans include:

1. Vigorously to enforce the provisions of the contracts forbidding discrimination, especially with reference to upgrading.

2. To work for the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law (which deals with methods of hiring) to the end that the Union may operate its own employment service and cause the hiring of larger numbers of Negroes in jobs other than custodial.

3. To establish more adequate Union headquarters, with provision for social and athletic activities in which members of the Union can engage without the limitations on racial intermingling generally enforced in the community — a bowling alley, a bar, a restaurant.

4. To step up the recreation program, especially as to interracial sports.

5. To give more social affairs, so as to provide opportunities for members of different races and religions to become better acquainted.

It would seem that the vitality of the education of the members of this Committee, and through them of the members of the Union, lay in its close relation with the day-to-day problems of the Union and its functioning. It had the advantage of the project over the class. It embodied the education of action.

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FARMER-LABOR UNDERSTANDING — AND ACTION

The work of the American Labor Education Service is carried on within the larger framework of the policies and activities of the labor movement. The following articles deal with educational developments within the significant field of mutual understanding between working farmers and organized labor; one article dealing with the programs of one large branch of the labor movement, the other dealing with a specific project sponsored by ALES. It will be seen that in both, the basic principle is that of developing an understanding of common interests as a basis for cooperative action.

EXPERIMENTS IN FARMER-LABOR COOPERATION

George T. Guernsey

An understanding of the problems of rural America is essential to the progress of the labor movement. This understanding always brings with it a consciousness of the interdependence of family farmers and city workers. Today almost two-thirds of all our Congressmen come from either rural areas or areas where the rural population holds the balance of power. The jobs of nine million workers are directly dependent upon the level of farm income. On the other hand, workers' families living on incomes less than \$2000 a year do not buy the foods and fibres bought by families living on \$5000 a year, thus contributing to a low income for farm groups.

In building an understanding of the problems of the other fellow, the American Labor Education Service has contributed much through its activities. It spearheaded the development of the Farmer-Labor Education Conference held annually in Minnesota, described by Chester Graham in another article in this issue. This two-day

conference, more than any other, has succeeded in getting local union officers and working farmers to meet and discuss their mutual problems. Representation of farm as well as labor groups appear on the ALES board, and through its bibliographies and publication work the ALES has constantly stressed materials on farm problems which would be useful to labor groups.

Techniques of Farm-Labor Cooperation

CIO international unions and CIO state councils closest to the farm population have experimented in many ways with techniques for dealing with this problem, some of which are beginning to result in real cooperation between family farmers and workers.

Exhibits at State and County Fairs

One of the first groups in CIO to see the importance and value of a farm-labor relations program was District 3 of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, comprising the states of Iowa, Nebraska, and Colorado. District 3, through its Farm-Labor Relations Director, developed a continuing program of working with farm groups and presented an organized program of working at county and state fairs in these three states. Here, insofar as possible, workers who manned the fair booths were drawn from the communities in which the fairs were held, and a number of techniques have been devised to attract farmers to the booths. Skits and songs dealing with farm-labor problems were used, sound movies were shown (some entertainment and some documentary), kewpie dolls given for correct answers to a man-in-the-street quiz program, special literature was prepared and distributed, prizes were raffled off each day, and a pictorial display showing the interdependence of farmer and worker was used as a background in the booth. Names were secured for mailing lists and follow-up work.

During the past two years, the Michigan CIO Council, in cooperation with the Michigan Committee to Combat Intolerance, has been working at state and county fairs on the same sort of program. They have stressed the importance of special features that will attract people into the booth. A fair situation is highly competitive for audiences; barkers at the various exhibits are constantly trying to pull people in, and most of the unions that have prepared booths for fairs feel that the planning of activities to bring in an audience cannot be overstressed.

In Indiana, the United Automobile Workers, CIO, District 3, originated a program now continued with the cooperation of the CIO state council and the Packinghouse Workers. They use a trailer which is hauled from county fair to county fair with a number of exhibits of interest to the farm audience. The trailer equipment includes a special shadow box for out-of-doors film showings. They stress the importance of planning the exhibits far enough ahead of time so that well-located space can be obtained and so that fair committees cannot say that all space is already allocated and none available for CIO. The sponsors of the trailer exhibit keep a special diary covering the problems of running an exhibit at each fair and including questions and problems discussed by farmers visiting the booth. They have prepared special literature geared to citizenship problems for both farmers and workers.

The Minnesota State CIO has been extremely active in the field, covering more than forty county fairs during the past year. One of the oldest fair programs is a joint AFL-CIO program in Kenosha, Wisconsin.

A newspaper editorial from Iowa farm country thinks that union tents at county fairs can help get farmers and union men together—and that it's important.

UNIONISM INVADES THE FAIR

We were wandering about the fairgrounds this morning watching the old familiar sights—the old-fashioned bubbling drinking

fountain, the hokum of the carnival, the individuality of the commercial exhibits, and so on—all the things we have gawked at as long as we can remember.

Then something foreign caught our eye. Before we were conscious of what it was, we knew it somehow "didn't belong" to the Greene county fairs of the past. We looked again. Yes, that's what we thought we had seen. A display tent of a CIO packing-house union. Shades of John L. Lewis and Samuel Gompers! At the Greene county fair yet!

We wandered over and in. We hope you will, too.

The fellows in charge told us all about it. They are new at the game, they admit, but they believe they have a story to tell the farm folks—and they are out to tell it. They will make about 3 fairs this year—perhaps more in the future.

They are pulling for the Brannan farm program among other things. They also want to "sell" the farm folks on the idea that union labor is not getting too much of the consumer dollar.

Now we don't agree with all they have to say. We DO agree with some of it. But that isn't important. The really important thing is that farmers and union labor are rubbing elbows, exchanging views, getting acquainted. It is healthy. We hope to see more of it in the future.

Workshops on Farm-Labor Programs at Summer Schools

Many groups have experimented with farm-labor classes in their one-week summer schools.

Early in the development of its summer school, the Ohio CIO Council, because of its good relationship with the Grange and the Farm Bureau in Ohio, was able to bring instructors from farm groups to the school and to arrange an evening's discussion with from thirty to fifty farmers present for a give-and-take discussion of mutual problems.

In both Iowa and Indiana, the workshop approach has been used to build interest in the farm-labor relations program on the part of CIO local unions. Normally, such a workshop includes discussion of the history, background, and program of the three major farm organizations: the Grange, the Farm Bureau, and the Farmers Union; some material on the concept of family-sized farm vs. corporation farming, average family income and range of income

for farmers in the states represented at the school; background on federal and state legislative problems.

The workshops also include techniques by which farm-labor programs can be developed, such as an exchange of speakers, development of joint meetings, the use of such films as "Farm and City" and "The World is Rich," and the fair program which has been described above. Through its education director, the Ohio CIO Council has followed up on its workshops and attempted to establish small farmer-worker discussion groups to continue after the school term is over. Through joint sponsorship of one of the farm groups and of labor organizations, these discussion groups have started well, and in a few cases, where a local person could take the responsibility for planning and promotion, have lasted over a period of years. Finding such people at the community level, either from farm or labor groups, is the obstacle to wider use of this technique which the Ohio CIO, feels is probably the most effective means of communication they have used.

Face-to-Face Education

At some of these workshops at CIO summer schools, actual meetings with local farmers have been revealing to CIO members who often think of farmers as people with an endless supply of milk and cream for their children and all the steaks they want grazing just outside the kitchen door. These field trips to family farms include interviews with various members of the farm family and a first-hand look at how farmers live, with discussion on rural housing, rural schools, and rural health services.

At one school, members of the farm-labor workshop were divided into small groups of four or five each; the groups went out every afternoon to visit farmers, talking with them about farm problems and inviting them to an evening meeting planned by the CIO school. To head up each group and get the discussion started, there was at

least one CIO member who had been raised on a farm and who knew farm problems. At the end of each afternoon's field trip, the small groups got together in a clinic to report on the reactions of the farmers they had visited that day and to discuss better approaches to farmers. They covered such questions as how to start a conversation with a farmer, what they had talked about, how many in each group had taken part in the conversations, and why others had not.

This practical experience started some real thinking on problems of working with other groups and on the interdependence of farmers and industrial workers. For instance, two of the groups included Negro members. There was a question of whether a Negro should be part of a group calling on farmers in a semi-southern area, whether we were building good farm-labor relations or antagonizing people on the race issue. The group concluded that we should include Negroes in our visits, since all the problems of American democracy, including racial discrimination and farm-labor relations, are interdependent and cannot be tackled separately. In another case, a member of the Rubber Workers, some of whose union members work in the plastics industry, saw soy beans growing for the first time and learned something about the soil-building function of crops.

Later in the week each member of the workshop made individual calls on farmers, carrying on the conversation by himself. As a result of the group practice and discussions, many of the trade unionists who had been reluctant to join in the trips early in the week were very anxious to try their luck by the end of the week. In at least two cases, locals represented in the workshops carried through on attempting to develop a farm-labor council on their return home.

In one city the Packinghouse Workers have extended this technique to home territory: they have been able to get members to spend Saturday afternoons going out and calling on farmers. They go out in carload groups, down a

country road, each calling on farmers and discussing literature prepared by the union and leaving copies for the farmers to read. One union member hit the jackpot when he visited a farmhouse where six or seven farm wives from the neighborhood were meeting; the meeting became a discussion on farm-labor problems, with the Packinghouse Worker participating.

Taking CIO's Story to a Rural Community

What can be done in a rural community by resourceful planning is best illustrated by a meeting held in connection with a school sponsored by the Minnesota State CIO Council and the National CIO in Minnesota some five years ago. Many of the local residents were unfavorable toward having the CIO use the small church school, but after a thorough investigation the board stood by its original decision and opened it to CIO. CIO members at the school thought that the community might be more friendly if they had a chance to get to know some trade unionists. It was therefore decided to sponsor an evening meeting open to the community. The entire student body was divided into committees to work on the meeting. First one group talked with some of the more friendly people in the town to get their ideas and support. Another group arranged to have Glenn Talbott, president of the North Dakota Farmers' Union, as the speaker at the meeting and selected the film "VALLEY OF THE TENNESSEE" for showing. A third group wrote and produced a skit on the interdependence of farmers and workers. CIO members learned a Danish folk song, well-known to people of the community, and made that and "SOLIDARITY FOREVER" the theme of the meeting. As invitation to the meeting, the Publicity Committee prepared a mimeographed leaflet which was distributed through the stores in the little town; they also arranged for a party-line-ring announcement of the meeting direct to the farm community. A square dance

followed the formal meeting, and coffee and doughnuts were served.

More than two hundred people turned out to the program, including two members of the state legislature. Following the meeting, some of the farmers visited classes at the school or dropped by on a social visit when they were in the neighborhood. The program was successful in counteracting some of the stories that had been spread about the CIO and its school. The square dance program broke down many of the barriers between the two groups, and the trade unionists went back to their homes in other parts of Minnesota with a real feeling of accomplishment. More often than not, the comment was made by CIO members, "Why can't we do more of this, especially back home?" Obviously the person-to-person contact at this meeting broke down much of the misinformation that both labor and farm groups had about one another.

Preparation of Special Materials on Farm-Labor Problems

In many instances unions have prepared special materials for farm groups and often exchange speakers with farm organizations at national and state conventions.

The United Packinghouse Workers have for some time maintained a mailing list of farm contacts and have published a very effective four-page periodical entitled *THE MEAT OF IT*. The United Automobile Workers and the National CIO have prepared pamphlets and posters on the farm-labor problem. In some instances local groups working on county fairs have produced extremely effective materials geared to local situations. The CIO Department of Education and Research has prepared a guide called *WORKING WITH FARMERS* which includes material on how to prepare exhibits for state and county fairs.

With labor groups, the problem is still to convince workers that they have a real stake in carrying their story to farm audiences and in breaking down the misinformation

which comes to farm groups mainly from organizations representing Big Business, from the big farm implement companies, and the national offices of those farm organizations which are dominated by the big business farmers.

Conversely, not even the liberal farm groups have been able to organize a program of informing union groups of the many problems faced by the family farmer. Neither group will be successful in improving its standard of living and achieving a better life until both groups understand one another's problems and until they combine their political and economic strength in a joint program.

George T. Guernsey is Associate Director, CIO Department of Education and Research.

EDUCATION CONFERENCES OF FARMERS AND WORKERS

Chester A. Graham

Cooperative action between working farm families and working urban families begins with mutual understanding and mutual respect. It breaks down with misunderstanding and distrust. The American Labor Education Service has blazed a healthy trail for democracy in the annual Northwest Farmers' and Workers' Education Conference.¹ Through this medium each group has learned to appreciate the problems of the other. Still more important—they have discovered that they have many more interests in common than they have in conflict. They have, in fact, agreed upon seventeen important interests that they have in common.²

1. The Committee responsible for the ALES Northwest Farmers' and Workers' Education Conference represents in its personnel the interests of labor, farmers' union, and cooperative groups in various upper midwest states. Members of state labor bodies, as well as members of city bodies and local unions—AFL, CIO and independent—participate in its work.

2. The following were the common interests agreed upon by a committee at the 1951 Conference:

Industrial workers and family-type farmers must both make their living by working.

Both groups must live by annual net income, — not merely on price per bushel or hourly wage rate.

Each group is the major consumer of the products of the labor of the other group.

Income of farmers and income of wage workers rise and fall together, and both run far below their fair share of total national income.

Working farmers and industrial workers must use collective bargaining if they are to have any voice in the sale of their labor, or the products of their labor. Farmers use their marketing cooperatives. Industrial workers use their labor unions.

Both groups have learned that they must have organization at all times to protect their own welfare and the general welfare.

Both groups have purchasing power as consumers which they can mobilize through cooperatives to help correct our economic ills.

Both groups are trying to solve the problems of increased production through new machinery. Both must work together if progress is to be made for either group.

Both groups are trying to get more modern conveniences in their homes, better health care for their families, and better educational opportunities for their children, and a rich spiritual life for all.

Industrial workers want to own their own homes and farmers want to own the land on which they work in order to maintain a substantial family life.

Both groups want security for old age, for times of sickness and accident, and other hazards of life.

Both groups have the same enemies. Exactly the same interests that are determined to destroy labor unions by such instruments as the Taft-Hartley Law, are the interests that are trying to destroy cooperatives by tax legislation, to prevent a farm program designed for family-type farmers, and to prevent a health insurance program needed by farmers and industrial workers.

Both groups want further control of monopoly and cartels to guard their own welfare.

Both groups want conservation of our natural resources for generations that follow us. Fair appraisal of TVA shows it an essential device for this purpose.

Both groups want the profit taken out of war.

Both groups want taxation based on ability to pay.

Both groups want to put an end to discrimination and want to defend the civil liberties guaranteed in the Constitution of the United States.

When we speak of farmers we refer to those who work for a living on the land. When we speak of workers we include all those who work for wages in occupations other than farming.

Only through organization is constructive social action

possible. Any significant farmer-labor cooperation must come through organized farmers and workers. Conferences designed to generate farmer-labor cooperation, of necessity must include, and be mainly limited to, farmer organizations, labor unions, and cooperatives. All such organizations in North and South Dakota, Iowa, Minnesota, and western Wisconsin are invited to participate in the Northwest Conference. All of the conferences, up to date, have been held in the Twin Cities.

No "resolutions" are adopted in the Northwest Conference of Farmers and Workers. Absence of parliamentary power tactics leaves the participants free to state clearly their own problems, to raise questions about, and even criticize, the action program of the other group, and to evaluate plans and proposals for positive joint action by the two groups. No participating individual or organization is forced to endorse all that is said and done.

But absence of resolutions does not mean lack of interest in action. Representatives who have taken part in the conference carry back the "findings" of the conference to their own organizations for consideration and action. This may be to a local organization, a county or central delegate body, a state organization, a local cooperative, or a regional cooperative.

All of the details in state and federal legislation are not worked out in the education conference, but through discussion the fundamental principles of common interest and cooperation are established. This results in much closer coordination between representatives of Labor, Farmer, and Cooperative organizations when Congress and State Legislatures are in session. There is no purpose here to claim exclusive credit for achievements in farmer-labor cooperation. In many other parts of the country similar constructive activities contribute greatly to this cooperation. Even within the northwest area other efforts contribute to mutual understanding and mutual help.

The official publications of people's organizations such as labor unions, cooperatives, and farmer organizations are important instruments for translating the common agreements of educational conferences into better rank-and-file understanding between organized farmers and organized workers. In recent years nearly all labor papers have protected the working farm families from legislative attack (by powerful exploiting interests) on their price support program by showing urban consumers that working farmers get a very small percentage of the dollar paid by the consumer for food and clothing.

Cooperative publications and Farmers Union papers have carried the story to farmers about the very small percentage of the price of farm machinery and supplies which goes to the worker in the form of wages. These same publications have informed farmers of the basic threat, not only to organized labor, but to organized farmers, in such legislation as the Taft-Hartley Act.

Following the second world war, when powerful interests were building up sentiment for passage of destructive anti-labor legislation, the North Dakota Farmers Union requested a representative of the UAW-CIO to spend an extended period in the state at the expense of the State Farmers Union. This labor representative toured the state speaking to meetings of farmers to explain the reasons why industrial workers were compelled to organize and to ask for upward adjustments in income and working conditions.

The American Labor Education Service knows that constructive and permanent cooperation between workers and farmers grows out of the understanding in the minds and hearts of local people. The major frame of reference in the education conferences is that of understanding and action at the local level. Much time is spent in hearing reports from projects, in local and county cooperation and understanding that have been successful. Frank reports are given also on projects that were not successful, with discussion of the reasons.

Experience seems to show that temporary procedures set up to meet emergencies are important, but do have little permanent value. The most constructive benefits have come from local or county cooperative councils that meet regularly month after month. These usually represent labor unions, farmer organizations (Farmers Unions), and cooperatives. Their main value lies in the fact that they are active long before the emergency arises.

County Fairs have been found to be effective facilities for the enlightenment of farmers about organized labor, and the enlightenment of labor union members about the problems and purposes of organized farmers. Cooperatives, labor unions, and farmer organizations accomplish this through having a booth at the fair, and through public demonstrations. The Minnesota state AFL farmer-labor relations committee is active throughout the state, and the United Packinghouse Workers of America has done a top rate job in this field in Iowa.

This recognition of the importance of a local program to build mutual understanding has resulted in two important developments in the education conference of farmers and workers. The one has been an emphasis upon "what we are going to do when we get off the train" (to quote Tom Tippet) on our return from the conference. Much time is given to listing, discussing, and clarifying, the steps that are to be taken in the local community to create better understanding. (1)

(1) So real is the interest in fostering cooperation that they have developed the following outline for a how-to-do manual on next steps in local cooperative action:

First Page: The following questions will be given in bold type:

What do you know about organized farmers?

What do you know about organized labor?

Are the aims of organized labor and the organized farmers in line with the general welfare of your community?

What interests do wage workers and working farmers have in common?

A second development has been a growing desire to have the Northwest Conference of Farmers and Workers meet at some local place outside the Twin Cities. The purpose in this move is to get more participation of the people who are active in their local communities. Labor groups have expressed their desire to invite the Conference to meet in North Dakota this winter. Other labor organizations in the

Second Page: Here is what both groups after discussion at the fourth Northwest Conference agreed are the common interests:

(The points of common interest previously listed would be included here.)

Third Page: Although this page is not finally planned, its purpose would be to whet the interest of the reader in the importance of getting to know more about the other group. Questions such as the following, might be used:

How do working farmers and wage workers learn to know each other?

How do you find out what the other group is trying to do?

Why are there misunderstandings between the two groups?

Fourth Page: This page deals with what we, as Labor Unions do to learn about farmers. The material would be pitched at the level of a local Union that has not yet done anything, and should deal with such questions as what provision needs to be made in the local for dealing with this question and what organization needs to be set up.

Fifth Page: What do we, as Farmers Union groups do to learn about Labor Unions?

Sixth and Seventh Pages: Joint action by farmers and workers. Dealing with case stories of programs which have been in operation.

Eighth Page: This would deal with the out-reach into the total community on the part of farmers' and workers' groups as they work together,—in other words the material would point out that together the groups can do more than they can do alone.

Ninth Page: Factual material on meaning of common interests already discussed.

Final Section: Resources. Both material on Farmers Union and Trade Union activities and background material: lists of persons to be contacted should also be included.

state will cooperate. The North Dakota Farmers Union has cooperated in the conference since its beginning, and would welcome the Conference to North Dakota. Many Farmers Union locals have discussed the proposal and have indicated emphatic interest in having Conference representation.

Totalitarian regimes know that the way to destroy democracy is to destroy the democratically controlled organizations such as Labor Unions, Cooperatives, and Farmers Unions. A most effective way to destroy such foundations for democracy is to drive a wedge of misunderstanding, distrust, and conflict between those who work for a living on the land and those who work for a living in industry and commerce. The American Labor Education Service, and other similar agencies, have helped to build strong foundations for democracy by generating the kind of mutual understanding and mutual regard that make real farmer-labor cooperation possible.

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WHITE COLLAR WORKERS AND ORGANIZED LABOR

We are in a period when the "new middle class" of white collar and professional workers is increasing in number and importance, and will probably continue to do so as our industrial system develops further. The individual white collar worker, however, cut off from the body of organized labor, has little influence over the factors that control his economic life, and in many cases, little sense of "belonging." On the other hand, those white collar workers who have become part of the labor movement, have a chance to help make decisions in matters that affect them and to be-

come a constructive force within the labor movement and within the community.

The American Labor Education Service has for a long time recognized the importance of white collar workers identifying themselves with organized labor. Through an educational project known as White Collar Workshops it serves the interest of white collar workers in developing their social awareness and in participating more effectively in the labor movement.

White Collar Workshops carries on a year round program: developing local conferences with particular white collar unions or on a community basis, serving as a center of information and materials dealing with white collar problems, and conducting each year a resident summer school for organized and not-yet-organized men and women in white collar jobs. This school, starting with white collar workers "where they are" and helping them through the group process to grow in their social awareness and skill, illustrates an educational procedure in building group relations.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM OF THE RESIDENT SESSION OF WHITE COLLAR WORKSHOPS

Theresa Wolfson

A number of students were discussing the question of overtime for clerical workers in a class conducted by the White Collar Workshops. Two opposing points of view were expressed: "I have worked at a place where the employer waited until a quarter to five to dictate some stuff that he could have dictated at ten in the morning. He expected me to send out the finished letter that evening. It seems to me that if all the stenographers adopted the practice of starting no new work when it was almost five o'clock, that might teach him a lesson."

The other point of view was: "I can't see looking at your

watch and saying to your employer, 'I'm sorry, it's five minutes to five and I can't start that work now because I won't finish until after five.' I think of my job as something I want to hold until someone comes along and rescues me by marrying me, or until I inherit some money from a rich uncle. I don't want to fight and antagonize my employer. Peace of mind is an important part of my job."

A third voice entered the discussion. "That is where the union can help you out. If your employer asks you to do something that is going to take extra time, you don't have to refuse him. You can do the work but he knows, as a result of his contract, that he must pay for this at the regular overtime rate."

Incorporated in this classroom discussion were the many facets of the problems which confronted and still confront the white collar worker—social attitudes, psychological problems, a feeling of temporariness on the labor market, the propinquity between worker and employer, the isolation of the worker from the rest of the office staff and from workers on the production line.

Workers' education, that is, the education of workers in responsibility and intelligent citizenship in their unions and in the community, began in this country more than a quarter of a century ago. The emphasis of the early classes was on the organization of the industrial worker and on the need for him to understand his position in the economic world. Since the white collar worker then represented a predominantly unorganized group and a group that the trade unions themselves were unprepared to organize, the focus of trade union organization was centered on the industrial worker. The program and techniques of workers' education were also slanted to this group.

In the depression of the 1930's when all kinds of schemes and projects were being proposed to meet the problem of unemployment, a labor conference was held (1931) for the purpose of considering an educational program to meet the

needs of white collar workers. This conference was held under the auspices of the Affiliated Schools for Workers, now called the American Labor Education Service. It had the cooperation of interested individuals from the business and professional department of the National Y.W.C.A., the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, and the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Unions. The group was concerned not only with urging some sort of work-relief program for unemployed white collar workers but also with the necessity of launching a program of education for these workers. It was felt that education would help them understand their own economic problems and to examine the factors that isolated them from industrial workers. The representatives at this conference formed a national committee and prepared the groundwork for the Summer Institute for Office Workers.

The first Institute, which was held in the summer of 1933 on the campus of Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio was attended by thirty-three women from fifteen cities. The students represented community agencies, Y.W.C.A. groups, and business girls clubs. Only three students had had experience in a trade union. This two-week Institute was significant because it impressed upon the faculty and the members of the National Committee the high degree of individualism that existed among these worker-students. The committee learned something about the extent to which the minds and psychology of the students were impregnated with individualism and how widespread, even in this group, was the prejudice against collective economic action, as represented by the trade union.

By the summer of 1936, men white collar workers were admitted to the student body and a Conference on the place of the White Collar Worker in the Labor Movement was held under the guidance of the school. It is significant to note that by the time the School celebrated its fifth anni-

versary (1938), students from Canada, England and Sweden were sent by their respective unions to the Summer School with the aid of special scholarships, and became a vital and important part of the educational group. In addition a special seminar was held for men and women who were planning to teach in the workers' education projects conducted by the Works Progress Administration.

The changes in economic conditions between 1933 and 1940 were revealed in the changing quality of the student body. There was a growing awareness of the economic and social problems which affected them and a feeling of kinship to industrial workers. The seminar for teachers in the workers' education field attracted college students, Y.W.C.A. secretaries, as well as social workers concerned with the recreation and education problems of white collar workers. By 1940 the membership of the Summer School had switched from a predominantly non-union group to that of equal representation of union and non-union members. Unionization had seeped into the white collar *group* at last. The social climate created by the Wagner Labor Relations Act gave unionism that aura of respectability so necessary to the middle class aspirations of the white collar worker. Many of the students who had attended the Summer School for Office Workers became active in the organization of new white collar trade unions.

The school therefore developed during the past few years several how-to-do workshops where union members worked together on sharpening their skills for carrying on union activities more effectively: workshops in grievance procedure, public relations, legislative and political action, developing union education programs. The union members of course continued to be interested in how to interpret the labor movement to their fellow white collar workers, and at the same time strengthen their own white collar unions.

During the last few years the school, in addition to its

general program, has worked intensively with two groups of organized white collar workers, the Telephone Workers, and the National Alliance of Postal Employees. Special training institutes conducted in cooperation with the Telephone Workers, and over a longer period of time with the Postal Employees, aided each of these groups in developing their own union education program. The institutes combined discussion of the concrete problems facing the workers in their particular field of work (e.g., the problems faced by government workers who must work through legislative activity rather than through collective bargaining) with the opportunity for participation and training in effective educational techniques, such as leading group discussion, working on committees, legislative work, etc. Learning to strengthen their own groups through union education and feeling themselves a vital part of the larger movement of organized labor were two of the important results for those who took part in these institutes.

More recently, the Summer School, now known as the White Collar Workshops, has been aware of a new set of problems. CIO unions in some mass production industries organized thousands of white collar workers in separate locals within their own industrial unions. This trend started during the war, with the help of the maintenance-of-membership clause of the War Labor Board. The industrial unions believed that the white collar workers of the automobile, steel, and rubber industries were *Workers*, like their own production workers, and should be considered as a part of the industrial union. However, in deference to the feeling of "not belonging" or "differentness" which white collar workers professed—they were organized in separate locals. In instances where industrial unions organized white collar workers, the white collar locals too often represented the tail to the kite, and played little role in the policy making and the decision making of their own union.

In the two decades of the life of White Collar Workshops, a number of important facts have been observed, and a number of very important policies have been evolved. White Collar Workshops has noted the fact that as technology has developed, the percentage of the total population engaged in white collar occupations of necessity increased. This has been borne out by the two censuses which have been taken since the White Collar School was first started. In fact, we may be travelling toward the situation where white collar workers constitute the largest economic group in the country.

The second factor is that service industries which employ the greatest percentage of white collar workers have an extremely low rate of union organization. The wave of unionization of 1935 and subsequently of 1945 did not materially increase this percentage.

Thirdly, as the government assumes more and more responsibility for the regulation of minimum wages, social legislation, mediation and arbitration, white collar workers are excluded from much of this social legislation. If white collar workers have no organization to speak for them, they are bound to be left in a no-man's land.

Another aspect is that of the role which the white collar worker can play as the political balance wheel. If labor and management are evenly matched as power groups, will the white collar worker with his predilection for identification with management, tip the balance?

Fifth, is the inflation which has confronted our economy since the postwar period and World War II. It has hit and will continue to hit white collar workers harder than any other group in our society.

The sixth component of the problem is the mixed-up psychology of the white collar worker who has an educational background that represents more experience on the secondary and college level, but who lives in a world where the top of the occupational ladder is hard to reach, no mat-

ter what the aspirations of the individual may be. Furthermore, the psychological snobbishness that separates the white collar worker from the industrial worker tends to perpetuate both a real and an imaginary separation of interests of the two groups. The white collar worker has traditionally looked down upon the dirty overalls of the production worker. The aura of "gentility" surrounding the white collar worker has been a matter of envy and contempt to the production worker.

This became one of the focal points of the curriculum of the White Collar Workshops. The economic and personal problems which were discussed in the school had to be considered in the inter-relationship of psychology, economics and sociology.

Those of us connected with the Workshops recognized that the generally underpaid, politically apathetic white collar worker lived in a world of dreams, that he tended to make his image of the little "white house with the picket fence" the focus of his daydreaming even though his opportunities were becoming more and more limited. It is of interest that John Marquand in his recent novel "Point of No Return" wrote about the dreams, disappointments and social climbing of the bank clerk, that representative of the middle class who is so closely identified with the Banker. The bank clerk on the way up imitates the Banker in his clothing, his language, his leisure time activities, and in fact, his entire way of life. Little, however, has been written about the millions of white collar workers in the lower income groups, who, by virtue of their identification with the "Banker," may become the unknown quantity who may help force our political and economic organizations into a more totalitarian pattern, or may be re-educated to lead the way to a more democratic life.

Germany, following World War I, produced a "lumpen proletariat" of white collar workers who subsequently became the backbone of the Nazi movement. The person-

ality, the ambitions and the defeats of these people were extremely well described in Hans Fallada's "Little Man, What Now?" On the American scene, probably "The Adding Machine," by Elmer Rice, and "The Death of a Salesman," by Arthur Miller, come closest to describing the plight of the white collar worker.

The faculty of the Summer School, therefore, experimented with all sorts of material and methods of teaching which might make the students talk about their offices, their co-workers, their bosses, their hopes and their dreams. The teachers connected with the school studied this data, put it under the microscope of objective observation, and attempted to find out, through the Socratic method and the discussion method, just why the students felt as they did and how important these ideas were to them.

Many questions arose in the course of these discussions which were certainly not answered. For instance, with a group of workers who had some particular professional skill and who were employed in a social agency, the question of whether economic security is compatible with full professional growth became a most provocative one. Students felt that they should study and continue to study in their particular field in order to grow and to advance themselves. There was a real fear that too great a job security would stifle ambition and limit skill. To what extent was this reaction fostered by the propaganda of the press, radio and newspaper? If a social worker is really interested in his professional skills, will he stop growing because he has job security?

After much specialized study of motives, attitudes and social background, the Summer School experimented with the device of integrating the economist and the social psychologist in the classroom so that the two became counselors and participants in a free and easy discussion of the psychological factors behind the economic motives as well as the economic factors which color and form psychological motives.

In one of the recent sessions, much was revealed in reading "Elmtown's Youth" and "Middletown In Transition." Students who had been active in local union organizations found that they were guilty of social prejudices and preconceptions which were no less real than the prejudices which non-union workers had against the trade union itself. The discussion of the class structure in the school system, which is so effectively described in "Elmtown" was responsible for a series of projects on attitudes which the students themselves conducted on their own communities. Were all prejudices bad? Did they have prejudices? What were the origins of these prejudices? Which of the prejudices were molded by economic factors and economic forces?

"Keeping up with the Jones'," that comic strip which has amused the American public for so many years, became the subject of psychological and economic analysis, and Mr. Veblen, Dr. Freud and Dr. Marx would have been interested in the difficulties which the students had in admitting their own "blocks" and in understanding the blocks of their fellow students. Special workshops were developed to probe the origins of some of these preconceptions. It was astonishing to the students to learn that even within the school there were almost as many hierarchies of status as there were individuals, and that they depended upon a number of wise and foolish assumptions. Inevitably it was this class stratification that created a disunity among the white collar workers. Should a skilled group of newspaper workers concern themselves with the telephone operator and the filing clerk in the office? Was there any common experience that might provide a basis of mutual understanding?

White collar workers, like almost everyone in the 20th century, have a sense of economic and personal insecurity. In fact, it was often thought that their feelings of insecurity were more acute precisely because they could not

easily be pinned upon the amount of money in the pay envelope.

It was brought out on numerous occasions that the struggle in the minds of white collar workers about the value of union organization was not only a struggle of conflicting loyalties but also stemmed from a decided lack of faith in the efficacy of the trade union in helping them and furthering their economic interests and advancing their social status. The white collar worker undoubtedly represents the last stronghold of individualism in the United States. The competition between these workers is cruel and keen. The hunger for respectability and acceptance by the community is real and the petty snobbishness that indulges in prejudices against the Jew or the Negro or the Puerto Rican is difficult to break down. It is as though this represented a Rock of Gibraltar in the seas of uncertainty where the clerical and professional worker are struggling to keep afloat.

In a questionnaire sent out in 1950 to the students of previous sessions of the white collar school, there was almost unanimous agreement in answer to the question of what they considered the most important thing about the Summer School. It was the informal and easy manner in which the classes were conducted, the teamwork of the instructors, and the "bull" sessions that lasted long after the group broke up, which made possible an exchange of attitudes and ideas both unsettling and stimulating. In response to the question as to whether they felt that the Summer School experience had helped them in any situation which they were compelled to face after they left the school, there was unusual emphasis on the fact that the previous self-consciousness which the student had had in meeting and working on minority problems was dissipated. In fact, as one student pointed out: "I have learned to deal with the hard-headed anti-Negro, anti-Semite, anti-labor, anti-Catholic individual without losing the sense that I,

too, am a human being with some prejudices." That is a pretty concrete explanation of what the curriculum, as well as the spirit of the school, was able to accomplish in the very short period of two weeks.

When the students were asked what they considered the chief weakness of the school, there was a diversification of reaction, but a most common reaction was that the day was too short to include the tremendous amount of experience and new information which the students felt they had to absorb in the brief period of time. The general feeling was that for the first time, they grasped the inter-relationship of economics, sociology and psychology and that they would not be frightened by the specialist's jargon because, as one student put it, "Economics has to do with making a living and I have to make one. Psychology has to do with how I think and I have got to learn to think, and sociology has to do with living together and the more the office worker and the professional worker think, the more they will learn to live together."

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IMPLICATIONS OF THESE EDUCATIONAL TECHNIQUES

H. Harry Giles

American Labor is slowly coming to a recognition of the fact that education can be a prime mover of men and events. The American Labor Education Service has done a pioneer job in bringing about this recognition. This has been done, not by missionary words, but by deeds which have broken frontier ground. The frontier to which ALES thinking and action have been applied, is important to labor, to all interested in education, and to the future of democracy.

It is interesting to the present writer who has spent his whole life in education, to reflect on the fact that the first use of "workshop" technique in education—where he was observer and participant—occurred at the School for Workers in Industry at the University of Wisconsin in the summer of 1930. At this Workshop, students and faculty participated jointly in the determination of the problems to be studied. All teaching was based on the realities of the student's world—the school was operated as a place to discuss, demonstrate and study those things which would make a difference in the development of human beings on the job. Incidentally, this Workshop was intercultural in the fullest sense; races, religions and nationalities were of many kinds. Living, studying and playing were done together. It was not color or creed that distinguished participants, but creative imagination. A similar focus on the problems of students rather than on the syllabus of the professor did not gain headway in teacher education until 1937 or 1938.

I wish it were possible to say that American labor, which was perhaps chiefly responsible for the impetus which brought about our great system of free public edu-

cation, and which participated in the development of the powerful educative plan for in-service growth, which we now call the "Workshop movement" had a continuous record of expanding investment of men, ideas, and money in the field of learning. But with labor as with many other groups, a tendency to pioneer in some respects is not always accompanied by a willingness to do so in other directions, and we find that the development of labor education tends to be uneven and something of an uphill job.

In the face of such a situation, those concerned with the prime power of education to set men free, have an arduous job which has three chief aspects: (1) to find the vital areas of education; (2) to demonstrate how these areas can be tackled; (3) to derive both theoretical and practical working principles and so interpret them that the worker involved, his leadership and the public in general can understand their importance.

The current issue of this Journal shows how the ALES has gone about the first two jobs and, to an extent, the third.

The Table of Contents identifies four fields where education is vitally, almost desperately needed, i.e.; international understanding, the integration of minority groups, farmer-labor relations and the white collar worker.

It is not likely that anyone will challenge the primary importance of these problems for our time. And it is profoundly true, as Professor Lindeman points out, that all of them depend for understanding and solution on the establishment of relationships which are no longer automatic, if ever they were. This means that the ALES techniques and the rationale for establishing and using them are worth particular attention.

In their introduction to the first section, the editors point to at least half a dozen methods for bringing about group education, including student exchange between countries, seminars for labor youth, conferences, local

workers education centers, work with shop stewards, resident institutes and others. All of these are methods of bringing together people who have many problems in common and providing a setting and intellectual framework that will on the one hand facilitate exchange of ideas and, on the other hand, bring to bear the resources of specialists who may serve as discussion leaders, consultants, and the like. Certain principles have been established and tested by these attempts.

One principle is that of exchange; exchange of personnel, of information, of opinion on what constitute the main issues, of methods which work and do not work, and of unsolved problems.

A second principle is that of problem-centered education. Attention is directed, from first to last, to the definition and solution of daily problems. This is the method of the scientist and the artist. It has not generally been the method of traditional education.

A third principle is that referred to by President Taylor when he points out that present demands upon labor cannot be met through recourse to prolonged educational programs. This may be called the principle of "stitch-in-time." Most of the educational stitches will not make a whole garment but, as part of a continuing and broader plan, they may be most effective.

A fourth principle is that of on-the-job or in-service education. There can be little doubt that any worker in any field who has the opportunity to exchange information and study the pressing difficulties he is encountering on the job will learn faster and better and more, simply because he knows what he is after and why it is important to him.

Mr. Henson points out the difficulty of educating local leadership with reference to international problems. Both he and President Taylor emphasize the fact that the world has changed, and that now there are many places where labor can be represented in the councils which meet on

world problems. It is a sign of the rapid strides taken in the past twenty years, that there are now the urgent demands for labor attachés in U. S. Embassies, for example. I should like to generalize this point and say that one of the great functions of ALES and everyone concerned, is to see to it that labor leadership is either capable of first-rate educational work or is keenly aware of the need and the means for finding such leaders as can do it. It is a pity if Mr. Henson is right—as he very likely is—that local union officers in the U.S. are less aware and informed in the field of international problems than leaders of Rotary Clubs and Women's Clubs. It is, in some senses, a more tragic fact — where it is true — that labor may repeat the mistakes of business and industry in building power without understanding.

Mr. Henson brings out another point, which I should like to call Principle Number 5: socialization — having a good time together — is usually a necessity to understanding one another and facilitating cooperative work.

He also extends the Principle Number 1, of exchange, when he makes the point that all concerned should have a part in planning. Educational experiment seems to show that joint planning is the first necessity for developing a genuine educational process.

Mr. Henson adds a sixth Principle: follow-up. He is thinking of a continuing process of interaction. In addition, this principle may well include the function of evaluation.

In the section on Minorities, Marie Algor very properly points out that attitudes — not theories — are involved in the educational problem, and that the best way to affect attitudes is through an approach, which deals with the felt needs of the individual. All of this is closely and obviously related to what has already been summarized in the principles dealing with participation in planning and problem-centered education.

Mrs. Algor then goes on to a new and significant emphasis which can be called "Principle No. 7": group action for integration accomplishes more than exhortation against discrimination.

Mrs. Algor also adds to the statements on leadership by her discussion of the sometimes long-drawn-out search for the interested person who has the ability to act. Implied in what she says is Principle No. 8: leadership qualities may both be general and specific and may be found in any member of a group.

Finally, Mrs. Algor indicates the dynamic effect of success in spurring continuing efforts: this may be called Principle No. 9: a small success encourages larger efforts.

In Annetta Dieckmann's article, the central point is the value of knowing and using the specialist. This account of a study in which the union, Teamsters 688, employed Arnold Rose, is an excellent documentation of the fact that the trained specialist brings not only his skills, but an invaluable measure of objectivity to bear on organizational problems. This may be called Principle No. 10: the consultant can see more clearly because he has no axe to grind and he has specialized techniques through which to gather information.

The section on Farmers and Workers (1) includes evidence that when Principle No. 1 is applied, two groups which have not always thought themselves to share purposes find surprisingly wide areas of common interest. There follow these instructions:

11: "Only through organization is constructive, social action possible." (See Professor Lindeman's remarks on this)

12: By not insisting on official commitment to a "resolution," parliamentary power tactics are eliminated and members of a group are free to think and react in terms of

(1) Mr. Guernsey's article, "Experiments in Farmer-Labor Cooperation," was unfortunately received too late to be considered in this section.

the problem, rather than in terms of "face" and "status."

Chester Graham, author of the second article in this section, also states that "most constructive benefits have come from local or county cooperative councils that meet regularly, month after month." With this statement we have a point additional to, and different from that made by President Taylor in his support of timely and limited educational efforts. It is a point which says in effect, Principle No. 13: Continuing process of exchange, based on continuing personal association produces results of increasing value.

In this article it is notable too, that in the plan for a how-to-do manual, each page is conceived in terms of its psychological appeal to the reader — to relate the material to his questions and his interests and his problems. This is sometimes worthy of being called a principal: No. 14: Psychological rather than logical order is most effective.

The section on white collar workers and Organized Labor contains the profound but never dull article by Theresa Wolfson. The introduction, by the editors, to the article by Professor Wolfson, begins with emphasis on one of the fundamentals of human dynamics — the importance of a sense of "belonging." Miss Wolfson has done a brilliant job of showing how the lack of a sense of belonging — to organized labor, in the case of White Collar workers — brings a whole series of disorientations to the reality of daily life and human development.

As in Mrs. Algor's article on the minority problem, it is shown in Professor Wolfson's that the essence of the teacher's job in the educational process is to be sensitive to the feelings of students about what is important, and to proceed from those feelings to find the process by which all can grow and feel that they do grow. Thus we have stated the fundamental and inclusive principle of human dynamics; namely No. 15: Growth and Belonging.

Miss Wolfson introduces, with her remarks on the in-

tegrating of the economist and social psychologist, another of the principles which is on the frontier of the newest and best educational procedure: No. 16: Interdisciplinary teaching opens new realms of learning and problem-solving.

All in all, this series of articles is a refreshing and informative series of case examples, tending to show that the work of the American Labor Education Service has been and continues to be important in both labor and educational frontiers. From the evidence, it seems fair to say that the material here presented is substantial evidence as to the vital areas of education, concrete examples of how these areas have been made central in diverse labor education projects, and that from these accounts it is possible to draw at least sixteen Principles which can be useful in releasing the full creative powers of all concerned with labor, education, and the progress of the democratic society.

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